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followed by the author. Rather than a systematic presentation of the development of the church in Gaul, he has chosen to give us a series of interesting topical studies on the legends in regard to the early spread of the church, the persecutions, the development of monasticism, Gallic church Fathers, and Councils of the church in Gaul, etc. The author has gotten together much of the necessary material for such a synthesis, but nowhere does he make it. The matter is brought together in solution, but nowhere crystallized. To the reviewer it would appear that the value of the book would be greatly increased by the addition of a summary stating the author's conclusions with regard to the systematic growth of Christianity and the church in Gaul.

By way of minor comment, one is led to remark on the somewhat more than occasional roughness of the English, a roughness unusual in a man of Canon Holmes's training. Also, one regrets the absence of maps—an omission which distinctly lessens the book's effectiveness. Perhaps, too, a map might have led to some explanation of, or comment on, the tortuous route, referred to on page 563 followed by Columban and his guard: "Twenty years after he had been fully established at Luxeuil, Columbanus was driven into exile. The journey taken was at first that which he had already traveled, to Bescançon, Autun, and the castle of Avallon. Then they crossed the Cure and came to Domecy-sur-Cure and soon after to Auxerre *and so to Nevers and the Loire.*"

CURTIS H. WALKER

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

GAIRDNER'S WORK ON THE LOLLARDS

Mr. Gairdner has given us an extremely valuable contribution¹ to a most important and interesting, although very complicated, subject. The gifted author was "brought up outside of all the orthodoxies," and for half his life the vital doctrines of Christianity were to him quite unintelligible, and so incredible. He is now a strong, unwavering Anglican. So established is he that he was intrusted with writing the fourth volume of *The History of the English Church* in the sixteenth century from Henry VII to Mary. He says: "I was merely a retired archivist, most of whose official time had been occupied in endeavoring to chronologize and arrange matter for real historians to utilize."

¹ *Lollardy and the Reformation in England: An Historical Survey.* By James Gairdner. 3 vols., Macmillan, 1908 and 1911. London: Vol. I, ix+578 pages; Vol. II, vi+506 pages; Vol. III, vi+415 pages. \$10.

But his work as an archivist had given him command of what he considered "the most important aspect of that great political and religious crisis which we are in the habit of calling the Reformation." So there arose an irresistible impulse to try his hand at writing history.

He thinks, too, that the most of us can sometimes be misled by plausible propositions. His keen consciousness of this possibility leads him into searching analysis. At the end of his analysis he doubts whether Christians are really as much divided by doctrine as they seem to be. "I wonder," says he, "how many Roman Catholics have really a heart-felt belief in transubstantiation! Perhaps many have a heart-felt belief in the Real Presence, which is not exactly the same thing. On the other hand, I believe few Protestants have a heart-felt belief in that dogma which, above all others, is the distinctive dogma of the Reformation—justification by faith."

It is a mind like this, gifted, stored with abundant and accurate first-hand knowledge, sincere, aggressive, that passes under review the portion of English history which dissenters think of as part of the great struggle for civil and religious liberty. The work is supplementary to the volume already mentioned in *The History of the English Church*. There are six books: The Lollards, viewing them from the beginning to the eve of the Reformation; the Royal Supremacy, specifying the forces at work before Queen Elizabeth, showing how the past was viewed under Queen Elizabeth, how the church and heretics were regarded before the Acts of Supremacy, mentioning the martyrs for Rome, and an elaborate discussion of Sir Thomas More's writings; The Fall of the Monasteries; The Reign of the English Bible, in which Tyndale receives considerable of attention; juvenile supremacy; and Lollardy in Power, closing with a chapter on "The Great Conspiracy."

In a notice of this kind any treatment of details is quite impossible. The author's extensive and minute familiarity with the sources is such that no one could properly pass judgment on the work without carefully going over the same ground. But in a very general way a few suggestions may be made.

1. As we have noted Mr. Gairdner is a firmly established Anglican. This is his point of view. His sense of the sacredness of order in both church and state is so strong and so keen that he looks with unqualified disapproval at all movements that seem to jeopardize order—and so the foundations of things. And surely in the fourteenth and later centuries there were numerous menacing movements. Take the author's special theme as an example—perhaps the most conspicuous example. It

grew out of Wycliffe's teachings and work. Here Lollardy had its rise. Wycliffe himself was a man of well-rounded culture and balance. But his followers—the Lollards—ran riot and, while somewhat subsiding, all the way through the centuries covered by Mr. Gairdner, were verging on anarchy—not, as he thinks, freedom in its true sense. While he distinctly says there was some good in Lollardy, he finds it very difficult to keep this concession in mind.

2. "What was called Lollardy in the fifteenth century was an influence which arose mainly out of Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, and which tended to regard the book more and more as an infallible and all-sufficient guide in faith and morals, capable also of infallible interpretation by private judgment." This had subsided by the time of Henry VIII, but it was revived by Tyndale's New Testament which was widely disseminated through the printing-press. Henry VIII's breach with Rome also gave the greatest encouragement to Lollard views under the name of the New Learning. And so a combination of motive powers led to a change in the basis of church authority. To Mr. Gairdner the crux of the whole matter lies in the interpretation of the Bible by private judgment. In this he does not believe at all, whereas this is not only the differentia of Lollardy but is the central contention of non-conformity today. Mere conservative nonconformists, too, still believed in the Bible as an infallible guide in faith and morals.

3. The reader, dipping in here and there, without a knowledge of the whole work, would say this writer is surely a Roman Catholic of the first water. Mr. Gairdner tells us indeed that while he was still an outsider he used to think that the Roman Catholics had the best of the argument, and this certainly falls little if at all short of an unbiased judgment. We think, however, that if the entire work is properly estimated it will appear that the author is safely Anglican, and that he only means to be just to the Roman Catholics. He makes much of the union of church and state, and the fact that heresy was not only a church, but at the same time a state offense, made it necessary that the state should deal thoroughly with it as seriously threatening its foundations.

4. Most students of the Reformation will be surprised to find Mr. Gairdner joining issue with Bishop Creighton who considers the Reformation as "a great national revolution which found expression in the resolute assertion on the part of its national independence" and that there never was a time in England when papal authority was not resented. Mr. Gairdner maintains: "That Rome exercised her spiritual power by the willing obedience of Englishmen in general, and that they regarded

it as really a wholesome power, even for the control it exercised over secular tyranny, is a fact which it requires no very intimate knowledge of English literature to bring home to us."

The work will be an enduring monument to the industry and thoroughness of a great historian, and will command the protracted attention of every student of this portion of English history.

J. W. MONCRIEF

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

THE PROBLEM OF RELIGIOUS CERTAINTY¹

It has been very common to represent the Protestant doctrine of assurance as if it had no antecedents in Catholic theology, and to draw a sharp contrast between the state of fear and uncertainty which is supposed to characterize the Catholic Christian and the state of peaceful assurance which is the possession of the Protestant. This sharp antithesis has by recent interpreters to a certain extent been modified by the recognition of an element in mediaeval mysticism which in a way paralleled the Protestant religious sentiment. The painstaking and scholarly monograph before us undertakes to give a much more thorough examination of this important phase of theological doctrine. Heim contends that the problem is not rightly apprehended until it is made part of a larger investigation into the relation of Christian faith to the philosophical universal on the one hand and to the philosophical particular on the other. The fundamental question may be propounded as follows: Is God Universal Being-as-such, to be known in so far as we can think in terms of universals? or is what we can know of him to be obtained in a particular revelation and experienced through a particular plan of redemption? If God is Universal Being-as-such, then a knowledge of God is just as possible as is the axiomatic knowledge of universal principles. If, on the other hand, God is revealed only in particular historical events, knowledge of him cannot be furnished in any a-priori fashion, but must rest on evidence accessible to the senses and intellect.

Heim introduces us to the historical working out of this problem by calling attention to the two elements which existed side by side in mediaeval Christianity. Through Augustine there was introduced from neo-Platonism a mystic religious temper which conceived God as the ontological universal, and which therefore found in those thought-processes which involved statements about the universal a direct assurance of

¹ *Das Gewissheitsproblem in der systematischen Theologie bis zu Schleiermacher.* Von Karl Heim. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1910. ix+385 pages. M. 7.